Cochin Act. Having made my own position clear in this unambiguous form, I do not think that Mr. T. K. Nayar will expect me here and now to state when exactly I propose to advise His Highness to transfer some more subjects to popular Ministers. I think they can leave it to me to be the judge of the suitable time when such an advice ought to be tendered to His Highness. I do not think that the House would expect me to make any more definite statement than I am able to make at present.

Now I think we will put the proposition to vote, and I am sure in the earlier part of my speech, I have made perfectly clear what exactly is the issue upon which you are called upon to vote.

Resolution No. 4 put and carried; 31 voted for the resolution and none against

Resolution No. 5 considered withdrawn

The House rose for lunch at 1-15 p.m. and re-assembled at 2-45 p.m. with Mr. K. Ayyappan, Deputy President, in the Chair.

8. Revision of the Existing system of Franchise—*(cont.)*

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Sir, I rise to support the resolution moved by the hon'ble member Mr. Moothedan. I was not a little amused when I listened to the remarkable speech delivered by the Government Secretary. He reminded me of an actor in a picture I saw the other day in the Menaka Theatre. A doctor found out a specific for giving extra strength to men and animals and as an experiment he tried it on a man. When he jumped he cleared a 100 feet. He went to play Rugby foot ball. He got hold of the ball and jumped over the heads of all the others without touching any one of them and scored. What I find from the hon'ble member's speech is that he was jumping over the question and reached the goal, but never answered the question at all.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I thought you were comparing me to a star.

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Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* As for that matter I should think that if the same ability is shown there you would have been another big star in the cinema world also. My complaint is that he did not want to touch the question at all. Even though Mr. Moothedan might not have advanced sufficient arguments, he could easily understand that there are arguments in support of the motion. I, for my part, am dissatisfied that we do not get adult franchise now. Cochin and Malabar, and for that matter the whole of India, have been experiencing democracy, unadulterated democracy from time immemorial. The Brahmins, the Mohammedans, the Christians, the Nayars, the Ezhuvas—all these communities are versed in adult franchise. In Christian churches all the males above the age of 18—unfortunately it is not given to women—are entitled to votes in all church assemblies. The same also is the case of Nayar Karayogams and this is the case in many other communal organisations. This practice existed in the Christian churches from the time of the apostles, as long ago as 2000 years. They have been exercising this privilege without any harm being done to the growth of the church. Therefore adult franchise is not unknown to the people of Kerala.

Then we go to self-governing bodies which we are already having. In the Panchayats already adult franchise has been granted, and I would really challenge the hon'ble Government Secretary to point out any harm that has been done on account of adult franchise being given to Panchayats.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon *(Chittur-Rural):* It is easy to point out.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters)*: It may be easy for you but not for the Government Secretary. I would maintain that the granting of adult franchise to Panchayats in the matter of Panchayat elections has done no harm. Therefore, now to say that adult franchise should not be granted to the people is to deny a principle which has already been accepted by the Government and by the people. And what exactly is this adult franchise? Adult franchise is the giving of a little of the right of self-government to everybody in the State. Especially now when we are progressing—in the words of the Diwan-President at 400 miles per hour—it is rather a retrograde step to say that adult franchise should not be granted to the people.

I shall also point out that there is a virtue in giving adult franchise. I will take the Legislative Council election, for example. We have now about 4,000 voters in a constituency. I can assert that tremendous sums are now being spent in getting these votes. Getting the votes is done in different ways, and I do not think it will be befitting the dignity of this House to detail the different ways in which

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votes are obtained. If on the other hand adult franchise is given, instead of 4,000 votes in a constituency we might have 20,000 or 30,000 votes. Nobody will ever dare to resort to some of the methods which are now being resorted to. I am speaking out in all earnestness. It will then be only a question of educating these 30,000 voters to vote for a particular candidate either by recounting his past achievements or by promises that you would behave in such and such manner in future. By giving adult franchise we will only be conferring a benefit to those who are already in the political field. Everybody knows that it will be giving political education to the vast majority by giving more responsibility to the people. I need not say that if we wait at the brink of the river and say that we will enter the water only after learning swimming, we will never learn it. Now the people are at the brink of the river. You are not allowing them to enter the river. But if you give them adult franchise they will be entitled to make their own choice in regard to the selection of representatives to the Council. Therefore, to me it appears that there is no reason why adult franchise should not be given.

Mr. Moothedan has been pointing out that we find more of communalism in the Cochin State now. But I persist in giving you a more emphatic no. Take the Legislative Council. We do not find any single community adhering to any single party. We have got a very prominent leader of the Nayar community at the head of the State Congress. Practically all the communities are in that party, Nayar, Brahmin, Muslim, Ezhuva. Take the Progressive Party. There also you will find the same thing. You do not find Ezhuvas by themselves forming into an Ezhuva party, nor do the Nayars, or the Christians form such a party. The position of Christians is as deplorable as possible from the point of view of the Christian communalist. They are in all parties, the Cochin Congress, the Progressive, the State Congress and in the independent group. My point therefore is that there is very little of communalism in Cochin now. Why? Because more responsibility has been given to the people, and political principles have now become the prime factor for forming political entities within this Council. And that ideal stage will be reached if you give first the people adult franchise. We are asking for full responsible government; I should think that Hitler and his company might say that democracy is dead and that democracy is a failure. As a matter of fact from today's paper we find that Mr. Wendall Wilkie, the opponent of President Roosevelt had been studying democratic institutions at first hand and has testified to the glorious success of democracy in England. When England declares war today every man in England is actually declaring war. But that is not the case in Germany. The result is

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whatever is being done by the Government will be done by the people and through the representatives of the people.

If you give adult franchise the question of communal electorate will be unnecessary and I am sure this view will be supported by my Ezhuva friends, and that is the second direction in which we want reform. I want to convince everybody that what is at the bottom of my heart is the welfare of all. I want to make it clear that if we want a homogeneous body politic in the State we should do away with all communal representation. I will consider it first of all from the point of view of the communities concerned. Now we have got 5 Ezhuva members. What are 5 Ezhuva members against the 33 other elected members? As a matter of fact, you will find that all the other 33 elected members will begin to feel that they have nothing to do with the Ezhuvas. If their interests conflict with the Ezhuvas' interests they will fight with the Ezhuvas. If on the other hand there were no communal electorates, instead of 5 Ezhuva members in this Council we will have 38 Ezhuva members in the sense that they will be responsible to the Ezhuvas. I know instances in which prominent leaders of other communities have gone to certain prominent Ezhuva leaders asking for their help in particular constituencies in which they stood for election. I can call upon the experiences of the hon'ble Deputy President in this connection. There are Ezhuvas in all the 38 constituencies in the State. If a Nayar wants to stand in a constituency he would necessarily have to go to the Ezhuvas and request their help. Today the Nayar, the Christian, the Jew, the Mohammedan will say that they do not want the Ezhuva votes. At the same time when he comes to the Council he will begin to feel that he is not responsible for his position to Ezhuvas. That is from the point of view of the Ezhuvas. Therefore, I ask you what is the good of having 5 Ezhuva members if you can influence all the 38 elected members? From the others' point of view the Ezhuvas will begin to feel that their responsibility is primarily to the Ezhuvas. They will think that their success in the future elections will depend upon the vehement support of the Ezhuvas in the Council. Naturally, they will be practically 5 advocates of Ezhuvas in the Council. Such a state should be abolished. Their minds also should be so attuned to the common good that the Ezhuva members should be fighting more for the cause of others than for the Ezhuvas. Such a state is desirable and not only ideal but expedient. Take for example, the attitude of the Indian Christians as shown from the last meeting of the All India Indian Christian Conference. All the All India Conferences of Indian Christians have declared that the Christians in India do not want separate electorates at all. Now I

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ask my Ezhuva friends to ponder a minute on this. The Christians in India are only 40 lakhs or 4 millions in an ocean of about 400 millions now. These four millons do not want any separate electorate, because their political acumen told them that the 2 or 3 members which they can send into an Assembly of 560 will be useless, whereas they would have a Christian representative in every member elected to the Legislative Assembly. This view was supported by Sir Kunwar Maharaj Singh, Dr. Mukerji and all other Indian Christian leaders. You will therefore find that a microscopic minority in India out of selfish reasons, not only out of ethical or idealistic reasons, have on accout of their political wisdom refused communal electorates. And that example is one which my Ezhuva friends will do well to copy. You are a real power to reckon with in the elections. The Ezhuva community is coming up by leaps and bounds. And as I said all the constituencies will be sending "their" representatives.

There is still another reason why we should abolish communal electorates. With the grant of full or partial responsible government we will have Ministers who will be representing the non-officials on the Government block there. Now I would ask you this question. What will be the position of an Ezhuva if he becomes a Minister? Should he not eschew all political connections with his constituency because he is there not as an Ezhuva but as the representative of all? He represents the non-official opinion in this House. That is my point.

Certain apprehensions have been raised. One apprehension is that Ezhuvas may not be returned from any constituencey. Instances have been cited of only one member having been returned. We have got the instance of Mr. Ayyappan becoming the Deputy President. Even otherwise, suppose no Ezhuva is returned. It does not matter. As far as I am concerned, my personal opinion is that if all the 38 members of this House are Ayyakutties, I have absolutely no objection to all the 38 being Ezhuvas. If all the 38 members are C. V. Antonys, I will have absolutely no objection to all the 38 being Christians and if all the 38 members were like Justice Marar, I would have no objection whatever to all the members of this House being Caste-Hindus. And I am praying for a day when we would reach a stage when we would not object to a particular individual because of the suffix to his name. I may tell you that at one time there was in Cochin a vast majority of Christian Heads of Departments. I ask you this question. Is it not your experience that you never felt that C. Mathai was a Christian, that you never felt that Justice Verghese was a Christian, that Justice Antony was a Christian? There was a time when there were 6 Christians as major heads of

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departments, and because of their just and honest work, no Caste-Hindu ever felt that his interests were at stake. I am praying for a day when all the officers in Cochin may even be Ezhuvas or Christians or Nayars and none would feel that his interests are at stake. I ask you to go one step further and cross the ocean and go to England, one of the most democratic countries. Though the Jews in England were less than a microscopic minority, a Lord Beaconsfield became the Prime Minister, a Lord Roseberry, who married a Jewess became the Prime Minister and a Lord Reading who was a Jew was the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Montague was the Secretary of State for India. Let us pray and let us hope that a day will come in Cochin when democracy will be safe and communalism will be extinct.

Mr. Puthur Achyuta Menon *(Kattur):* Sir, I have great pleasure to support the resolution moved by Mr. A. V. Moothedan. The Government Secretary with his usual eloquence argued that no case has been made out by Mr. Moothedan for demanding the appointment of a fresh committee to enquire into the matter of franchise and that the conditions have not changed since the proposals in the last committee report. I am not on the point as to what are the things to be considered by the committee. Those are all details to be worked out by the committee. There was another funny argument advanced by the hon'ble Secretary to Government that it was in 1113 only that the last committee sat and that within 3 years it will be very hard and unwise to sit and make proposals for another revision. I am sorry to state that the Government Secretary, when he made that responsible statement, forgot the fact that it was in 1110 at the time when Mr. Herbert was the Diwan that a franchise committee sat and reported. At that time the whole question of franchise was revised and within a period of 3 years another committee had to sit and the whole question had to be gone into and necessary changes had to be made. We must remember that this is a time when rapid changes are taking place all over the country at 400 miles speed per hour. In 1113, it was felt that changes in franchise must be made within a period of 3 years. From this I want to bring to the notice of the Government Secretary that the case of 3 years should not be the criterion; you should look and see whether conditions have changed demanding a revision. With due respect to the members who sat on the committee in 1113, I have to make a statement that the delimitation of constituencies will have to be gone into again. I do not know what were the reasons which prompted the committee to suggest the delimitation of constituencies. There may be some motives behind the committee. But my humble submission is that that question must be again gone into and if some more proposals can be

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made, less difficulty will be experienced in all the constituencies of the State. That will be a great thing which a committee can achieve. Then, Sir, as regards the condition permitting the revision of the franchise, I humbly beg to submit that it was in 1110 Thulam, if I remember correct, that the last franchise committee was constituted and proposals made by them. If I remember correct, at that time there was not even a possible rumour of the grant of the first instalment of responsible government. It was in Makaram 1113 that the idea of responsible government came, and it was in Makaram that the announcement was made. Conditions are changed from that day onwards and we have now passed 3 years. I am certain, Sir, that this is the proper time when another committee must sit to deeply go into these matters as well as the delimitation of constituencies, the question of widening the franchise, communal electorates and all those things. My submission therefore is, it is highly necessary that Mr. Moothedan's resolution should be accepted and the committee appointed.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Sir, I beg to support this resolution. Things are not in that stage where we could rest content on our oars. Politics must either advance or retard. It cannot stand in it. That is the law of politics. Either it must grow for the better or grow for the worse. We have heard the Diwan-President telling this morning that things which were accepted till yesterday are completely thrown away the next day. So the hon'ble Secretary's attitude that we cannot have a committee, it is too soon to have it, is an attitude which we cannot accept. Regarding the communal representations, I am against it. I had advocated in this Council the abolition of the microscopic Jewish minority community constituency. Why should we go for the example of Christians in British India? I am glad that it has been abolished. We have got an influence which we can exercise in the general constituency which cannot be had if we have a member here of our own. There were forebodings that I may never come back to Council, but I was sure that if justice prevails I will come, and I have come. But if injustice prevails and if the majority communities are bent on injustice to minorities, they can do so. If the major communities give satisfaction to the minority communities and the backward communities and their merits will be recognised justly, equitably and fairly, then this cry of communalism would never have come to this country. It is my experience, Sir, in all the elections in the country that when minority communities come forward for election, the majority communities combine together and say that these are their perquisites and not the perquisite of the minorities or of the backward communities! Such voices I have heard in the country. I therefore

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warn you that the majority communities must take care that they generate a feeling of security and fairness, in the minorities that the minorities will be dealt with fairly, and that they will be given their portion equitably. If that feeling you do not generate, the majority communities are going to suffer and not the minorities or backward communities.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon *(Chittur-Rural):* How?

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* I will tell you how. I will tell you outside this Council. The Hindus are in a great majority in India. Yet the powers that be, say, that unless you give satisfaction to the minority Muslim community and unless you make them feel that they are safe under the majority rule, you cannot expect us to give you what you want; if you can take it, take it; we are not going to give it to you unless you satisfy them. Therefore I say that the danger is not for the minorities but for the majorities, in that even their will, will not be allowed to prevail. So, if you want to get complete responsible government, then you must generate a feeling that a man whatever be his community, whether he be a Christian, Ezhuva, Romo-Syrian or any other community, will get fair treatment at your hands. Even in the days of beaurocracy in Cochin, according to the Standing Orders, every citizen has a right to office. That was the same in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria. But in practice that was not seen. Those who got it try to keep it and would not give anything to others. Naturally agitation comes up and you have the communal ratio, the staff selection board, rules for its working, etc. Although merits were to be recognised in theory, in practice the majority communities were enjoying all the power at the expense of the minorities. That is the reason that we got these communal representations. I know the Deputy President is practical. He knows the minds of the minority communities, Ezhuvas. He thought that at least let them have a few votes so that when there is a time they may have an upper hand. That is their ideal. But I say, leave all that alone. Drag Cochin on to the proper tract. Let every man and every woman have a vote. Give everything to them. If fairplay is not being shown, then scrap the constitution completely. Agitation will then come out into *maidans.*

Mr. K. R. Viswambharan *(Ezhuvas-Talappalli):* On the Salem mount.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Salem mount is there. You will come and I will come. I am not of the backward but of the small in numbers. I was also able to creep into the Council. Therefore, do not be afraid of the majority communities. Let us work for "one man, one vote". And let us have no women

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constituencies and no communal constituencies. Let us have only adult suffrage and general territorial constituencies. That is the logical conclusion to which we should come, because we are pressing for full responsible government. Full responsible government cannot come to you if you try to think in compartments. No sensible person will approve this compartmental system. It is a disease that grows as it is fed. We had no communal Christian constituencies before. When the disease grew we have 3 Latin Christian constituencies coming up. Now the Latin Christians have no chance of influencing the general election or influencing the general trend of politics. When you come here your vote may be valuable. But otherwise, your influence is nil. Therefore, I submit with all earnestness that the Government should not be a party to divide the country. Government should say we will go in the right direction. We will not look into caste, creed or religion. If he is a good citizen that is all we want. We will give such instructions that the proposals of the franchise committee would enable the citizens to consider all as one. That is the way the Government should view this subject. I support Mr. Moothedan's resolution so that the whole thing may be thrashed out in the committee. We have no time to discuss all these matters here. Every minute of the Council is worth 4 rupees and people sometimes do not know how valuable the time is., Therefore only a committee can do that. The committee may consist of officials, non-officials and all other persons who take interest in it. Let them thrash out the whole matter and submit it before the Government, either to accept it or reject it. I do not think this is not the time or the occasion to discuss all these. These are all excuses which you always say when you do not want to do a thing. If you want to do a thing, you will find the law, you will find the procedure. Therefore, if you are willing, say "we are willing". But don't give us this anti-deluvian reasons. I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution.

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur):* Sir, I support the resolution. I wish to confine myself to the question of revising the system of communal electorates to which the hon'ble mover has given particular emphasis. He was saying that the system of communal electorates has done a great deal of harm and is doing a great deal of harm. There are various members who think that the system should be abolished totally without any reservation or safeguards. There are some others who think that communal electorates should be substituted by a system of joint electorates with reservations. There are still others who hold the view that it is not enough if there are reservations, but reservations with some additional safeguards should

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be granted. In this state of affairs the mover wants that a committee should be appointed to go into the whole question. When he placed before this House the suggestion that this question must be tackled by a committee, the hon'ble Government Secretary replied that he has not made out a case sufficient for the appointment of a committee. The mover relied in the course of his argument on the discussions that took place in this House on two occasions, one which took place previously on his own resolution and the other on Mr. V. K. Krishnankutty's cut motion. His resolution was discussed and thrown out. In the case of Mr. Krishnankutty's resolution it was talked out. From that the hon'ble Secretary argues that since the House has rejected the resolution of Mr. Moothedan and talked out the motion of Mr. Krishnankutty, it follows that the House is not for a revision and that the fate of that resolution and cut motion clearly indicates that the case for a committee is completely disproved. On the other hand I would submit to this House that the trend of discussions that took place on these motions showed the necessity for the appointment of a committee. Mr. Moothedan placed before the House a concrete suggestion in respect of the system of franchise that should substitute the existing system of separate communal electorates. This House discussed it and found that his concrete proposal was not acceptable to the House. But if we study the trend of discussions it would be clear to any one that there was not a single member in this House who said that he was satisfied with the existing system. Every one was agreed that the existing system should be changed and some other system substituted. Mr. Moothedan's resolution was defeated because the system which he placed before the House was not acceptable to it. On the other hand there was unanimity of opinion that that system should be abolished. The difference of opinion was about the question as to what the system should be that should be adopted in substitution of the existing system. It is not possible in a matter like this where there is scope for ample differences of opinion, where there is the possibility of every member differing from every other member, to solve this question by discussion in the open House. If any particular resolution is brought, and if that resolution happens to be unacceptable to the majority, then that resolution has necessarily to be thrown out. But, in the committee all the details can be thrashed out and all the aspects considered and a proposal arrived at which will be acceptable to all the communities. It can then be placed before this House, if necessary, or placed before the Government for its acceptance. The fate of Mr. Moothedan's resolution and the trend of discussion on that resolution instead of establishing that a committee is unnecessary, establishes its necessity.

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There was another argument adduced by the hon'ble Secretary to Government. That was he cannot accept a *via media* between communalism and nationalism. Either it should be communalism out and out or outright nationalism. When all of us are agreed that the system of communal electorates should be abolished and when all are agreed that the ideal one is a system of general electorate without any reservation or safeguard whatsoever, it is our duty to march towards that ideal. I cannot find any meaning in the suggestion that there is not a *via media* between our present position and that ideal. Our very constitution itself is a mixture of two different elements. It has been said that our constitutional ideal is full responsible government. But we have not reached that goal yet. In the course of our march we are adopting a system which blends two different elements. When there is an undesirable system on account of particular circumstances and environments, that undesirable system cannot be cast away all on a sudden. It is practical to adopt different systems in a progressive march towards the ideal we cherish. So that argument of the hon'ble Secretary to Government, that there cannot be a blending of two different opposing systems, cannot appeal to many.

In fact many eminent politicians in British India who have discussed this problem of communal electorate have suggested that before we reach the ideal, for which Mr. Mathai was so vehemently arguing, as a method of practical expediency, general electorates with safeguards can usefully be adopted. At any rate the view of the Secretary to Government is only one view on the question. His doubt was whether we can blend the two systems together. According to him the question is whether it is necessary to adopt completely the principle of general electorates or whether we should carry on with the present system of separate electorates. All these things can be considered and thrashed out by a committee instead of being discussed in this House. In this view, I fully agree with Mr. Moothedan that a committee may be appointed. I don't wish to state anything more on the other aspects which Mr. Moothedan wants to be placed before the committee.

Mr. V. K. Krishnankutty *(Ezhuvas-Trichur):* Mr. President, Sir, I have great pleasure to support this resolution tabled by my hon'ble friend Mr. Varkey Moothedan, Member for Chalakkudi. It recommends to the Government that a committee be appointed for the purpose of going into the question of the revision of the franchise in vogue at present in the State. Now this resolution is next in importance only to Mr. T. K. Nayar's resolution passed this morning on the question of the extension of our constitutional

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reforms, and of course in the right direction of reaching complete responsible government. It will be admitted both by the Government Secretary and all those concerned that the present system of franchise is not the ideal one that we can aim at. The ideal is stated in the resolution tabled by my hon'ble friend, the Member for Planters, namely, the "establishment of a system of adult franchise in the State". Now let us take a further step for the ultimate goal in the matter of the franchise also. When we took a further step in the matter of the constitutional reforms the procedure adopted also should be extended a little bit further. It is idle to argue that only persons who pay anything by way of tax alone have got an interest in the administration of the State. Any living person who has attained majority has got a right to have a voice in the administration of the affairs of the State. Having conceded that position and having conceded that it is the ideal which we have to aim at, the question is whether we should at once reach the ideal as advocated by my hon'ble friend Mr. Mathai, or we should appoint a committee to go further into the question to reach the adult franchise at once or take a *via media* action. My submission is, when any change is effected in the present system of franchise by widening it, the question of adjusting communal representation to the widening of the franchise has to be gone into as a corollary. So that the question of communal representation and the question of widening the franchise are embedded with each other and a committee appointed to go into the question of franchise will have to discuss all these matters together to arrive at a proper and satisfactory conclusion.

Now the Franchise Committee which sat remarked that they can understand nationalism which is a gist of citizenship and also communal representation. I can understand their position also when they pleaded that no more extension of franchise can be made, but, they say that adult franchise is the ultimate goal. And in spite of the vehement stress made by all the witnesses examined before them to say that adult franchise is the goal, they refrained from tackling the question. When adult franchise is granted, then the question of communal representation dwindles itself into nothing and none of us who pleads for communal representation in the matter of elections will any more plead for communal representation even after the establishment of adult franchise. We will also take the same lot with any of you here or anybody outside. That is the ideal and we preach for the ideal and we have been preaching for the same. We will preach it hereafter also. And when that ideal is attained there will be no occasion to call us persons who clamour for communal justice. There will be no necessity for that. We pray that such an ideal may be reached

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and as a further step in the advancement of our people a committee may be appointed to go into the question of widening the franchise. I strongly support the resolution moved by my hon'ble friend Mr. Moothedan.

*മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. ആർ. വിശ്വംഭരൻ: സർ, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ചാലക്കുടി മെമ്പർ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു. ഇന്നു കാലത്തു ഇവിടെ യാതൊരു എതിരുംകൂടാതെ പാസാക്കിയ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണ പ്രമേയത്തിനാടുത്തുതന്നെ ഇങ്ങിനെയൊരു പ്രമേയം ഇവിടെ വാദപ്രതിവാദത്തിനു വന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഏറ്റവും ഉചിതമായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നാണു് എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നതു്. എന്നാൽ ഇവിടെ ഇതിനെ അനുകൂലിച്ച പല മെമ്പർമാരും ശ്രീമാൻ മൂത്തേടൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്ന കമ്മിറ്റി ആലോചിക്കേണ്ട വിഷയങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും ചില പ്രസ്താവനകൾ ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നതായി കാണുന്നു. പ്രായപൂർത്തിവന്നിട്ടുള്ള എല്ലാവർക്കും രാജ്യഭരണകാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഭാഗഭാഗിത്വം വഹിക്കുന്നതിനു പര്യാപ്തമായ വിധത്തിൽ അവർക്കെല്ലാം സമ്മതിദാനാവകാശം വേണമെന്നുള്ള തത്വം പരിഷ്കൃതരാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ എല്ലാം സ്വീകരിച്ചു കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതാണു്. ഇൻഡ്യയിൽ പ്രായപൂർത്തി വോട്ടാവകാശം ഫ്രൻസ്-ൽ-ലെ ഇൻഡ്യാ ആക്ടു് അനുസരിച്ചു് മുഴുവനും സ്വീകരിച്ചു കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ലെങ്കിലും ഈ കൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്തിൽ നിലവിലുള്ളതിനേക്കാൾ വിസ്തൃതമായ നിലയിൽ അവിടെ സമ്മതിദാനാവകാശം ഉണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതു് നമുക്കെല്ലാവർക്കും നല്ലപോലെ അറിവുള്ളതാണു്. കൊച്ചി ഗവൺമെണ്ടിലേക്കു എന്തെങ്കിലും നികുതി കൊടുക്കുന്ന ആളുകൾക്കും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസപരമായി സ്കൂൾഫൈനലോ അതോടു തുല്യമായ മറ്റെന്തെങ്കിലും പരീക്ഷകളോ പാസായിട്ടുള്ളവർക്കും മാത്രമേ ഇവിടെ വോട്ടവകാശം നൽകപ്പെട്ടിരുന്നുള്ളു. ഇതു് വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനസംഖ്യയിൽ ഒരു വലിയ ന്യൂനപക്ഷം മാത്രമാണു്. പരിപൂർണ്ണമായ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണം ജനസാമാന്യത്തിന്റെ ഗുണത്തിനായി പ്രയോജനപ്പെടണമെങ്കിൽ രാജ്യത്തിലെ പ്രായപൂർത്തിയുള്ള എല്ലാ പൌരന്മാർക്കും രാജ്യഭരണം നിർവ്വഹിക്കുന്ന പ്രതിനിധികളെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തയക്കുന്നതിനു് അവകാശമുണ്ടായിരിക്കണമെന്നുള്ളതു് രാജ്യഭരണതന്ത്രത്തിലെ ഒരു സിദ്ധാന്തമാണു്. അതിനാൽ നമ്മൾ പരിപൂർണ്ണമായ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണത്തിലേക്കു സമീപിച്ചുവരുന്നതായാൽ ആ ഭരണത്തെ കൈകാര്യം ചെയ്യേണ്ട ആളുകളെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കുന്നതിനു സാധാരണ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു കൂടുതൽ അവകാശങ്ങൾ നൽകുക എന്നു ഒരു നയം സ്വീകരിക്കാതെ ഗത്യന്തരമില്ല. അതിനാൽ ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഇവിടത്തെ ഗവൺമെണ്ടിന്റേയും പൊതുജന പ്രതിനിധികളുടേയും ഗാഢമായ ശ്രദ്ധയെ ആകർഷിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നതു്. പ്രായപൂർത്തി വോട്ടവകാശത്തിനു കൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങളേക്കാൾ കൂടുതൽ അർഹതയുള്ള ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു ജനസമുദായം ഇന്നു് ഇൻഡ്യയിലെ മറ്റേതെങ്കിലും രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ ഉണ്ടോ എന്നുള്ള കാര്യം സംശയമായിട്ടാണു് എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നതു്. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസവിഷയത്തിൽ മറ്റു പ്രവിശ്യകളേയും സംസ്ഥാനങ്ങളേയും അപേക്ഷിച്ചു ഏറ്റവും മുന്നണിയിൽ നിൽക്കുന്ന ഒരു ജനസമുദായം; എന്നതന്നെയല്ല സംസ്കാരപരമായും മറ്റു രാജ്യങ്ങളേക്കാൾ കൂടുതൽ മെച്ചമുള്ള ഒരു ജനസമുദായമാണെന്നു നമ്മൾ അഭിമാനിക്കുന്ന ഒരു ജനസമുദായം; പുരാതനകാലം മുതൽക്കുതന്നെ രാജാക്കന്മാരെത്തന്നെയും തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കുന്ന സമ്പ്രദായം സ്വീകരിച്ചിരുന്നതായി പുരാണസംബന്ധമായും ചരിത്രപ്രസിദ്ധമായും അറിയാവുന്ന ഒരു ജനസമുദായം, ഇങ്ങിനെയെല്ലാം കൊണ്ടു നോക്കിയാലും കേരളീയരെപ്പോലെ ജനാധിപത്യഭരണത്തിനു പ്രാപ്തരായ ഒരു ജനസമുദായത്തെ ഇൻഡ്യയിലെങ്ങും നമുക്കു

*Speech not corrected by the hon'ble member.

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ഇവിടെയുള്ളതുപോലെ കാണുവാൻ സാധിക്കുകയില്ല. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള കേരളീയ സംസ്കാരത്തെ നിലനിറുത്തുന്നതിനും ആ പാരമ്പര്യത്തെ പുലർത്തുന്നതിനും നമ്മൾ ജനകീയഭരണം സ്ഥാപിച്ചു് പ്രായപൂർത്തിയുള്ള എല്ലാവർക്കും സമ്മതിദാനാവകാശം നൽകണമെന്നുള്ള വ്യവസ്ഥ ഏർപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതായാൽ അതു് ഏതൊരു കായ്മത്തിൽ ഇൻഡ്യയിലെ മറ്റു നാട്ടുരാജ്യങ്ങൾക്കു നമ്മൾ മാർഗ്ഗദർശികളായോ അതുപോലെയുള്ള ഏറ്റവും രാഷ്ട്രീയമായ വിശാലവീക്ഷണമായിരിക്കുമെന്നാണു് എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്. ശ്രീമാൻ മൂത്തേടന്റെ പ്രമേയത്തിൽ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതുപോലെയുള്ള ഒരു കമ്മറിയുടെ പ്രവർത്തനംകൊണ്ടു് ഇവിടത്തെ വോട്ടാവകാശയോഗ്യതയെ വിപുലമാക്കുന്ന കായ്മത്തിൽ നമുക്കു കായ്മമായി എന്തെങ്കിലും സാധിക്കുമെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ പ്രതീക്ഷിക്കുന്നതു്. സമുദായപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യകായ്മത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഇവിടെ വിഭിന്നാങ്ങളായ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾ പ്രകാശിപ്പിച്ചതായി ഞാൻ മനസ്സിലാക്കുന്നു. സാമുദായികതത്വം ഏറ്റവും നീചമായ ഒരു രാഷ്ട്രീയസിദ്ധാന്തമാണെന്നു് വാദിക്കുന്ന ആളുകളുടെ പ്രസംഗങ്ങളും ഞാൻ വളരെ ശ്രദ്ധാപൂർവ്വം ശ്രവിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. ഒരു സമുദായമണ്ഡലത്തിലെ പ്രതിനിധിയായി, ഒരു സമുദായവാദിയായി നമ്മളുടെ മുമ്പിൽ പ്രത്യക്ഷപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ആ മെമ്പർ സമുദായപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യകായ്മത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു് എന്തെങ്കിലും പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അതിനെ നിങ്ങളാരും സമുദായബുദ്ധി വെച്ചു് നോക്കരുതെന്നാണു് എനിക്കു് ഈ സഭയെ ഉൽബോധിപ്പിക്കുവാനുള്ളതു്. ഈഴവരെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യവ്യവസ്ഥക്കു മാറ്റം വരുത്തണമെന്നൊലത്തീൻ ക്രസ്ത്യാനി സമുദായത്തിന്റെ പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യവ്യവസ്ഥക്കുമാറ്റം വരുത്തണമെന്നൊ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ചാലക്കുടി മെമ്പർ മൂത്തേടൻ അവർകളുടെ പ്രസംഗത്തിൽ സൂചിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഇതിനോടു് അനുകൂലിച്ചു് പ്രസംഗിച്ച ചില ആളുകൾ ഈഴവരും ലത്തീൻ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളുമെല്ലാം ഇവിടെ വിഭിന്നാങ്ങളായ സമുദായങ്ങളായതുകൊണ്ടു് സമുദായവാദം ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ രാഷ്ട്രീയജീവിതത്തിൽ സുസ്ഥിരമാക്കണമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞതായി എനിക്കു കേൾക്കുവാനിടയായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഈഴവസമുദായത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് എനിക്കു ഒരു സംഗതി തുറന്നുപറയുവാനുള്ളതു് ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൽ വിഭിന്നാങ്ങളായ സമുദായങ്ങൾ നിലനില്ക്കണമെന്നോ സാമുദായികമായ താല്പര്യങ്ങൾ സുസ്ഥാപിതമായി വെച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കണമെന്നോ ഉള്ള അഭിപ്രായക്കാരല്ല ഈഴവരിൽ ഫ്ഫ൦ ശതമാനം പേരും എന്നുള്ളതു് ഈ സഭ ധരിക്കണമെന്നുള്ളതാണു്. ഈഴവർ സാമുദായികവാദം പുറപ്പെടുവിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതു് അവരുടെ സാമുദായികമായ അവശതകൾ നീക്കുന്നതിനായിട്ടു മാത്രമാണു്. രാഷ്ട്രീയകായ്മങ്ങളിൽ മാത്രം സാമുദായികതത്വം വേണ്ടെന്നു ഞങ്ങളോടു് ഉപദേശം ചെയ്യുന്ന ആളുകളോടു് ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജീവിതത്തിലുള്ള മറ്റു തുറകളിൽ സാമുദായികതത്വം ഇല്ലേ എന്നുള്ള ചോദ്യമാണു് എനിക്കു താഴ്മയായി ചോദിക്കുവാനുള്ളതു്. ഇവിടത്തെ സാമൂഹ്യജീവിതത്തിലും ആരാധനാസമ്പ്രദായങ്ങളിലും എന്നു വേണ്ട സമുദായജീവിതത്തിലുമെല്ലാം കാണുന്ന ഒരു വ്യവസ്ഥ ഇന്നു് എന്തൊരു മായാവ്യവസ്ഥയാണെന്നു മഹാകവി പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ നമ്മൾ കാണുന്നുണ്ടു്. ഇങ്ങിനെ ചില സമുദായങ്ങൾ താഴെയാണെന്നും, ചില സമുദായങ്ങൾ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന മതങ്ങൾ തെറ്റാണെന്നും മറ്റുമുള്ള ധാരണയോടുകൂടി നിർഭാഗ്യവശാൽ ഇൻഡ്യയിലെ ചില സമുദായങ്ങളെല്ലാം ഭിന്നിച്ചുനില്ക്കുന്ന ഒരു നിലയാണു് നാം കണ്ടുവരുന്നതു്. നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തിൽ നിലവിലുള്ള സാമുദായികവ്യത്യാസങ്ങൾ ശക്തരമാക്കുന്നതിനു വേണ്ടിയുള്ളതല്ല സാമുദായികവാദങ്ങൾ എന്നുള്ളതു് രാഷ്ട്രീയകായ്മങ്ങളിലും സാമുദായിക കായ്മങ്ങളിലും ഇടപെടുന്ന എല്ലാവരും സമ്മതിക്കുമെന്നാണു് എന്റെ വിശ്വാസം. ഇവിടെ നിലവിലുള്ള സാമുദായികവ്യത്യാസങ്ങൾ ഇല്ലാതാക്കുന്നതിനും മതപരമായും ചരിത്രപരമായും ചില സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കുള്ള അവശതകളെ ഇല്ലാതാക്കുന്ന

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തിന്നും രാഷ്ട്രീയമായ കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ പുരോഗതിയുണ്ടായിരിക്കണമെന്നുള്ളതു് എല്ലാ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടുകളും സമ്മതിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു പരമാർത്ഥം മാത്രമാണു്. അതിനാൽ ഈഴവർ സാമുദായികവാദികളാണെന്നുള്ള പരാതിക്കു് ഞങ്ങൾ ഒരിക്കലും വഴങ്ങിക്കൊടുക്കുവാൻ തയ്യാറില്ല. രാജ്യത്തിലെ വിവിധജാതിക്കാരും വിവിധമതങ്ങളും ഒന്നായിതീരണമെന്നു ഞങ്ങളെ ഉപദേശിച്ച ശ്രീനാരായണഗുരുസ്വാമികളുടെ ആ ദർശമനുസരിച്ചു് ജീവിതം നയിക്കുവാനും ആ ആദർശത്തെ ഇവിടത്തെ രാഷ്ട്രീയ കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ പകർത്തുവാനും ഏകജാതിസിദ്ധാന്തമാണു് രാഷ്ട്രീയജീവിതത്തിലും ഞങ്ങൾ കൈക്കൊണ്ടിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നും ആ സംഗതി ഈ സഭ പ്രത്യേകം ധരിക്കണമെന്നും ഞാൻ നിങ്ങളോടഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുന്നു. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മട്ടാഞ്ചേരി മെമ്പർ ഒരു സംഗതി ഈ നിയമസഭയുടെ ദൃഷ്ടിയിൽ കൊണ്ടുവരികയുണ്ടായി. ഭൂരിപക്ഷസമുദായങ്ങൾ വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ന്യൂനപക്ഷസമുദായങ്ങളുടെ അവകാശങ്ങൾ സംരക്ഷിക്കുവാൻവേണ്ട വിട്ടുവീഴ്ചകൾ ചെയ്യണം എന്നതാണതു്. ഇൻഡ്യയിൽ മുസ്ലീം ലീഗുപ്രബലപ്പെട്ടതിന്റേയും "പാകിസ്ഥാൻ" പദ്ധതി പൊങ്ങിവന്നതിന്റേയും കാരണം അവിടത്തെ മുസ്ലീം സമുദായത്തിന്റെ അവകാശങ്ങളെ വകവെച്ചുകൊടുക്കുന്നതിനു് ഹൈന്ദവഭൂരിപക്ഷത്തിലെ രാഷ്ട്രീയ ചിന്തകന്മാരായ ആളുകൾ ഒരുങ്ങാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണെന്നു മനസ്സിലാക്കാൻ കഴിയും. ന്യൂനപക്ഷസമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും ന്യായമായ പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം ഈ നിയമസഭയിലുണ്ടായിരിക്കത്തക്ക വ്യവസ്ഥകൾ ചെയ്യുന്നതായിരിക്കും ദേശീയപുരോഗമനത്തെ ക്രൂതൽ സഹായിക്കുക. ഇവിടെ സാമുദായികമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ ഇല്ലാതാകണമെങ്കിൽ ന്യൂനപക്ഷസമുദായങ്ങളുടെ ന്യായമായ അവകാശങ്ങൾ വകവെച്ചുകൊടുക്കുക ആണു് വേണ്ടതു്. അതുകൂടാതെ സാമുദായികമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ ഇല്ലാതാക്കി ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പുവ്യവസ്ഥപ്രകാരം തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പു നടത്തുന്നതായാൽ ഈഴവസമുദായത്തിലെ അംഗങ്ങളിൽ ഒന്നോ രണ്ടോ പേർക്കു ചില സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽനിന്നു വരാൻ കഴിയുമെന്നല്ലാതെ അതിൽ ക്രൂതൽ സാദ്ധ്യമല്ല. നിയമസഭാതിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പുകാലത്തു ചില വലിയ ആളുകൾ ഈഴവരുടെ പടിക്കൽ വന്നു വോട്ടിനു വേണ്ടി യാചിക്കുമെന്നല്ലാതെ ഈഴവരുടെ കാര്യങ്ങൾ വകവെച്ചുകൊടുക്കുമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. എന്നുവെച്ചു ഇപ്പോഴത്തെപോലെ പ്രത്യേകമായ സാമുദായികമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾതന്നെ എപ്പോഴും വേണമെന്ന അഭിപ്രായക്കാരനാണു ഞാൻ എന്നു് ഈ സഭ തെറ്റിദ്ധരിക്കരുതു്. ഒരു ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചപോലെ ഈഴവസമുദായത്തിനു ഈ സംഗതിയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു തന്നെ രണ്ടഭിപ്രായമുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതിനെ ഞാൻ വിസ്മരിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഇന്നു ഈഴവസമുദായത്തിനു നിയമസഭാപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം തീരെ പോരാതെയാണിരിക്കുന്നതെന്ന അഭിപ്രായം സമുദായാംഗങ്ങളുടെ ഇടയിൽ ധാരാളമുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതു ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു ധരിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ഈഴവപ്രതിനിധികളെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള വ്യവസ്ഥയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു മാത്രമേ ഈഴവരിൽ അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസമുള്ളു. പ്രത്യേകനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ നിവർത്തൽ ചെയ്യുകയാണെങ്കിൽ, ഈഴവസമുദായപ്രതിനിധികളെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കുന്നതു് ഏതുതരത്തിലുള്ള രക്ഷാവ്യവസ്ഥകളോടുകൂടിയായിരിക്കണമെന്ന സംഗതിയെക്കുറിച്ചു മാത്രമല്ലാതെ, ഈഴവർക്കു പ്രത്യേകപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം ആവശ്യമില്ലെന്നുള്ള സംഗതിയിൽ ഈഴവർക്കാർക്കും അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസമില്ലെന്നുള്ള സംഗതിയാണു് എനിക്കു ഈ സഭയെ ധരിപ്പിക്കുവാനുള്ളതു്. പ്രത്യേകരക്ഷാവ്യവസ്ഥകളോടുകൂടിയ വോട്ടർസമ്പ്രദായത്തെ അനുസരിച്ചു എതു ശതമാനം വോട്ടർമാർ ഈ സമുദായത്തിൽനിന്നു കിട്ടണം എന്നുള്ള ഒരു വ്യവസ്ഥയാണു് വെക്കേണ്ടതു്. ഇന്നത്തെ പരിതഃസ്ഥിതികൾകൊണ്ടു് ചില പ്രത്യേകരക്ഷാവ്യവസ്ഥകൾ ആവശ്യമുണ്ടെന്നല്ലാതെ പൊതുനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ വേണ്ടെന്ന അഭിപ്രായം ഈഴവസമുദായത്തിൽ ആർക്കുമില്ലെന്നു സംഗതി ഈ സഭയെ ഞാൻ ധരിപ്പിക്കു

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ന്നു. എല്ലാ സമുദായങ്ങളും ഒരുമിച്ചു പരസ്പര ഐക്യത്തിനും പെരുമാറ്റത്തിനും ഈഴവസമുദായം എന്നും സന്നദ്ധമാണു്. അതിനു വേണ്ടി മറ്റു സമുദായങ്ങൾ മുന്നോട്ടു വരുന്നപക്ഷം അവരോടുകൂടി പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്നതിനും അതിനുള്ള പരിപാടിയിൽ പങ്കെടുക്കുന്നതിനും ഈഴവസമുദായത്തിനു സന്തോഷമല്ലാതെ യാതൊരു വിരോധവുമില്ല. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശ്യംകൊണ്ടാണു് സാമുദായികമണ്ഡലങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ചു വീണ്ടും ആലോചന നടത്തുന്നതിനു ഒരു കമ്മിറ്റിയെ നിയമിക്കണമെന്നുള്ള ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നതു്.

മിസ്റ്റർ ബി. എം. പീറ്റർ: സർ, ഞാൻ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട പാലക്കുടി മെമ്പർ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു. ഒരു ന്യൂനപക്ഷസമുദായത്തിൽപ്പെട്ട ഞാൻ എന്റെ സമുദായത്തിന്റെ അവകാശം എന്തെന്നു ഈ സഭയെ ധരിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതിനാണു് നിങ്ങളുടെ മുമ്പാകെ രണ്ടുവാക്കു പറയുന്നതിനു എഴുനേറ്റു നില്ക്കുന്നതു്. ന്യൂനപക്ഷസമുദായങ്ങളുടെ രക്ഷ തീച്ചയായിട്ടും പ്രബലസമുദായങ്ങളുടെ കയ്യിലാണിരിക്കുന്നതു്. അവരുടെ സൌഹാർദ്ദമനഃസ്ഥിതി ക്രടാതെ ന്യൂനപക്ഷസമുദായങ്ങൾ അവയുടെ പൂർണ്ണവളർച്ചയിൽ എത്തുന്നതിനു പ്രയാസമാണു്. എങ്ങിനെ ആയാലും അവരുടെ സന്മനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു ഈ ന്യൂനപക്ഷസമുദായങ്ങളെ കാത്തുരക്ഷിക്കേണ്ട കടമ അവർക്കുണ്ടെന്നാണു് ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ എനിക്കു അനുസ്മരിപ്പിക്കുവാനുള്ളതു്. കഴിഞ്ഞ ഫ്രാഞ്ചൈസ് കമ്മിറ്റി തീച്ചപ്പെടുത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നതു് ഇപ്പോൾ മാറേണ്ട കാലമായിട്ടുണ്ടോ എന്നു ചോദിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം തീച്ചയായിട്ടും ഉണ്ടെന്നാണു് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം. എന്തെന്നാൽ ജനങ്ങളിൽ ശരിയായ തരത്തിലുള്ള രാഷ്ട്രീയപ്രബുദ്ധത എന്നുണ്ടാകുന്നുവോ അപ്പോൾ ആ പ്രബുദ്ധതയ്ക്കനുസരിച്ചു രാഷ്ട്രീയ വളർച്ചയ്ക്കും അവകാശമുണ്ടു്. അതിനെപ്പറ്റി ആലോചിച്ചാൽ മുന്നു കൊല്ലങ്ങൾക്കു മുമ്പുള്ള കൊച്ചിയല്ല ഇന്നു നാം കാണുന്ന കൊച്ചി. കൊച്ചിയുടെ ഇന്നത്തെ വളർച്ചയ്ക്കനുസരിച്ചു ഒരു ഫ്രാഞ്ചൈസ് പദ്ധതി രൂപീകരിക്കണം. പക്ഷെ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടിനു അതിനു വലിയ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടും പണച്ചിലവും ഉണ്ടായേക്കാം. എന്നാൽ അതിൽനിന്നുള്ള ഗുണത്തെക്കുറിച്ചാലോചിച്ചാൽ ഈ കഷ്ടപ്പാടും പണച്ചിലവും വളരെ തുച്ഛമായിട്ടുവേണം വിചാരിക്കുവാൻ. ഇനി ഇവിടെ പ്രായപൂർത്തിവോട്ടവകാശമാണു് വരാൻ പോകുന്നതെന്നു വന്നാൽ അപ്പോൾ തീച്ചയായിട്ടും ലത്തീൻ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികൾ പ്രത്യേകനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ ഉപേക്ഷിച്ചു അവരും പൊതുനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുമെന്നാണു് എന്റെ വിശ്വാസം. ശരിയായ ദേശീയവാദങ്ങൾക്കു പ്രബലസമുദായങ്ങൾ അനുവദിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം അതിനു യാതൊരു ന്യൂനപക്ഷസമുദായവും എതിരായിരിക്കയില്ല. പക്ഷെ പല പ്രസംഗപീഠങ്ങളിലും ദേശീയവാദികൾ ഉൽക്കണ്ഠാപൂർവ്വം പ്രസംഗിക്കാറുണ്ടെങ്കിലും പ്രവൃത്തിപദ്ധതിയിൽ അങ്ങിനെ കാണിക്കുന്നില്ല. പ്രസംഗിക്കുന്നപോലെതന്നെ പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള മനഃസ്ഥിതി ഉണ്ടാകണമെന്നാണു് എന്റെ അപേക്ഷ. മറ്റു ന്യൂനപക്ഷസമുദായങ്ങൾക്കു ഏതു തരത്തിലുള്ള പരിരക്ഷകൾ നൽകുന്നുവോ അതിനു തുല്യമായ ഒരു പരിരക്ഷ മാത്രമേ ഞങ്ങളുടെ സമുദായവും ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നുള്ളു. നമ്മുടെ സമുദായവാദങ്ങൾ മാറിവെച്ചു ശരിയായ ദേശീയവാദത്തിനു എന്നു മറ്റു സമുദായങ്ങൾ ഒരുങ്ങുന്നുവോ അന്നു ഞങ്ങളുടെ സമുദായവും അതിനനുകൂലമാണെന്നു പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ അവസാനിപ്പിക്കുന്നു.

*Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South)*: Sir, I have very great pleasure in supporting the motion that is brought forward by the

*Speech not corrected by the hon'ble member.

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hon'ble member for Chalakkudi. But there is one reservation that I would like to make and that is, in the committee report that was submitted some three years ago, certain provisions were made by which special communities have been given special representations. It may be that if they are not given some safeguards by such methods they may not be in a position to get a fairly approximate number of the seats that that community deserves. Now if those considerations which are based on ever so many things are to be changed, then the changes that are to be effected should not be of such a nature that the other communities to whom safeguards are not given are at a disadvantage. For example, there is the Ezhuva community. It is a fairly large community. Of course nobody can say it is a minority community. As a matter of fact it is the largest community in the State. Now, on account of the representations made by the members of that community, they are given a fixed number of seats. They have been obtaining only 2 seats before this new report came. By a consideration of the various things that went before the committee they have decided to grant them five seats and they are disallowed from voting in general constituencies. If that community is now to be given five seats with the right to vote in general constituencies, the effect of it will be that they get a double advantage. There are other larger communities or large communities like the Ezhuva community to whom no safeguard is granted. And because of the votes that are to be given to the Ezhuva community the number of seats that would otherwise go either to the Hindu or Christian community will be diminished and they will be placed in a disadvantageous position. If major communities like the Ezhuva community want safeguards the other communities also will insist upon safeguards being given to them.

Mr. K. S. Panicker *(Ezhuvas-Mukundapuram):* We have no objection.

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* Then it is alright. That is exactly the reason why when a resolution was tabled by the same hon'ble member last time it was objected. That resolution wanted that disqualifications or the non-permission to vote in other constituencies is to be removed. Certainly the other communities must protest because they have not got the safeguards as regards the number of seats that those communities deserve. For example, the Christian community has here only 5 members. In point of view of numerical strength, status and social position, certainly they deserve more. And if the Ezhuva community were to be granted 5 seats, the Christian community would deserve more. They can stand now in the general constituency and they got only 5. If

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the Ezhuvas are granted the freedom to vote in the general constituency, probably, the number of Christians may still further go down. So, what I say is, if safeguards were to be granted to communities simply because they are not in a position to have sufficient number of representatives in the Council, other communities should also be given the same safeguards. The question of communal electorate may not be of much use if adult franchise is granted. Most of the members who spoke on the resolution were saying that if adult franchise is granted, no special safeguards need be granted. In the report it is stated:

" After careful advertence to these and other relevant facts we have decided to allot to them instead of the two which they now have five seats with communal electorates and no right of voting or standing in the general constituencies. We firmly believe that the exigencies of fair and adequate representation entail this increase and no more. We are much relieved to find that this arrangement has given satisfaction to our colleague Mr. K. Ayyappan".

From this it can be seen that at the time this Committee was constituted the persons who were representing the Ezhuvas, while giving evidence, must have been satisfied with only 5 seats without the right of voting or standing in the general constituencies. Now we have no objection to agree to the proposal for the appointment of a committee to go into this question, but this should not be later on interpreted to mean, "you were agreeable to this resolution then and so you should not press for your claims if we are placed in an advantageous position." That is the only thing that I wish to bring to the notice of this House.

(At this stage some hon'ble members were seen standing)

Deputy President: As Chairman, I have to point out one thing here. There are several resolutions in the Agenda and our progress with regard to the disposal of the resolutions is very very slow. I just want to bring this matter to the notice of the House.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: സർ, ഈവക സംശയങ്ങൾക്കൊ ആശങ്കകൾക്കൊ ഈ റസല്യൂഷൻ ഇടം അനുവദിക്കുന്നില്ല. നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളുടെ വിഭജനവും പ്രതിനിധികളുടെ വിഭജനവും അതൃപ്തികരമാണെന്നുള്ളതിനു ഇവിടെ നിയമസഭയുടെ ആദ്യംമുതല്ലു നടന്നു തുടങ്ങീട്ടുള്ളതും ഇപ്പോഴും ഉണ്ടായിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതുമായ വാദപ്രതിവാദങ്ങൾതന്നെ സാക്ഷ്യം വഹിക്കുന്നുണ്ടു്. എന്റെ സ്നേഹിതൻ മിസ്റ്റർ സി. ആർ. ഇയ്യുണ്ണി സമുദായപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യമനുസരിച്ചുള്ള സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ അവക്കു കിട്ടിയാൽ മതിയെന്നു പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. ഞങ്ങളുടെ ഉദ്ദേശ്യം തന്നെ അതല്ല. സാമുദായിക തത്വത്തിൽക്രടി ദേശീയതത്വം സ്ഥാപിക്കണമെന്നാണു് ഞങ്ങളുടെ ഉദ്ദേശ്യം. അല്ലാതെ അഞ്ചൊ, ആറൊ സീറ്റിനുവേണ്ടി അല്ല ഞങ്ങൾ വാദിക്കുന്നതു്. മറ്റു സമുദായങ്ങളുമായി അടുക്കാനുള്ള സന്ദർഭവും സൌകര്യവും കിട്ടണമെന്നതിനാണു് ഞങ്ങൾ ഈ വാദം കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു്. അതിനാണു ഞങ്ങൾക്കു റിസർവേഷൻ വേണമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതു്.

മിസ്റ്റർ സി. ആർ. ഇയ്യുണ്ണി: അതിനെന്തിനാണു് റിസർവേഷൻ?

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മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: പന്ത്രണ്ടുലക്ഷം ജനങ്ങളുള്ള കൊച്ചിയിൽ ഉദ്ദേശം നാലിലൊരുഭാഗം വരുന്ന ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ആകെ അഞ്ചു മെമ്പർമാരെ ഉള്ളുവെന്നകാര്യം ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർമാർ അറിയണം. ജനസംഖ്യാനുപാതികമായ സ്ഥാനമാണൊ ഈ അഞ്ചു സ്ഥാനം ഞങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളതു്?

മിസ്റ്റർ സി. ആർ. ഇയ്യുണ്ണി: നിങ്ങൾക്കു അഞ്ചു മെമ്പർമാരെങ്കിലുമുണ്ടു്. ഞങ്ങൾക്കു അതുപോലുമില്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ സൃഷ്ടിച്ചപ്പോൾ അന്തിക്കാട്ടു നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തെ ഒരു ക്രസ്തീയ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലമാക്കണമെന്ന ഉദ്ദേശ്യത്തോടുകൂടിയാണു് പട്ടിക്കാട്ടുമുതലുള്ള സ്ഥലങ്ങൾ അന്തിക്കാട്ടു നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തോടു കൂട്ടിച്ചേർത്തതു്. അതുപോലെതന്നെ കാട്ടൂർ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലവും ക്രസ്തീയ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലമാക്കാൻ ശ്രമിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. വെള്ളാരപ്പിള്ളിയും ഒരു ക്രസ്ത്യൻ Constituency യാണു്.

Deputy President: Mr. Panicker, they are discussions about the details. We here want only the constitution of a committee which is to go into these details.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: ക്രസ്ത്യാനി മെമ്പർമാർ കുറച്ചേയുള്ളു എന്ന പരാതിക്കു വഴിയില്ലെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. ഇവ മെമ്പർമാർ ഉള്ള ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ ഏഴു മെമ്പറന്മാർ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളാണു്. അതനുസരിച്ചു ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ഏഴു മെമ്പർമാരെങ്കിലും ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കേണ്ടതാണു.

Deputy President: You may depose so before the committee.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: ഒരു നാടൻ ദിവാൻജി ഈ നിയമസഭ ഓപ്പൺചെയ്തപ്പോൾ ഈഴവക്കു രണ്ടു സീറാണു് തന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു്. കഴിഞ്ഞ ഫ്രാഞ്ചൈസ്കമ്മറ്റി മുമ്പാകെ ഞാൻ മൊഴികൊടുത്തതു പൊതുനിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ വോട്ടവകാശത്തോടുകൂടി ഈഴവക്കു മൂന്നു പ്രത്യേക സീറുകൾ കിട്ടിയാലും മതി എന്നാണു്. സീറു അധികംവേണമെന്ന ഉദ്ദേശ്യമല്ല ഞങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളതു്. എന്നാൽ ഇന്നലെ സെക്രട്ടറി അവർകൾ പറഞ്ഞു ഈഴവർ ൭ സീറിനുവേണ്ടി വാദിച്ചുവെന്നു്. എന്നാൽ അതിൽക്കൂടി ഞാൻ മൂന്നു സീറിനാണു് വാദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു കാര്യം കൂടി പറഞ്ഞിരുന്നെങ്കിൽ നന്നായിരുന്നു.

Deputy President: Mr. Panicker does not constitute all the Ezhuvas. The Secretary to Government was making a reference with regard to the opinion of the Ezhuva community.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I referred to the concensus of opinion in that community. I recognised all shades of opinion from adult franchise to non-communalism (*Laughter*).

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള വാദപ്രദിവാദങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടു നിയമസഭയുടെ സമയം കളയാതിരിക്കാനാണു് ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ചാലക്കുടി മെമ്പർ ഇപ്പോൾ ഇങ്ങിനെ ഒരു പ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവന്നിരിക്കുന്നതു്. അതിനു ഒരു കമ്മിറ്റിയെ രൂപീകരിക്കണമെന്നാണു് പറയുന്നതു്. ആ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഇതു പരിഭമത്തിനു വകയില്ല.

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Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* There is something here, in particular some reference with regard to the special communal electorates. Otherwise, we would not have said a word about that. And in my speech I have made specific reference with regard to the specific safeguards.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്°. പണിക്കർ: ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ ഇതുവരെ പ്രത്യേക നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിന്റെ വാദമാണ° നടന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു°. അതുകൊണ്ടാണിങ്ങിനെ ഒരു റസല്യൂഷൻ കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നതിനിടവന്നിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു കായ്യം ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർമാർ മനസ്സിലാക്കണം. ഇത്രയും പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ടു° ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കുകയും തൃശ്ശിവപേരൂർ സൌത്തിലെ മെമ്പരുടെ വെപ്രാളംകണ്ടു അതും തെറ്റിദ്ധരിക്കരുതെന്നു അപേക്ഷിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* Sir, When I was asked to speak before all the other members spoke, I said I would like to have a further chance of hearing all the speeches and that I will reply to their debates after that. Now I have been listening carefully to the speeches and with great respect to the arguments advanced by the members on the other side. The speeches reminded me of my days in court. Sometimes we have to argue review petitions and it is one preliminary to a successful argument in a matter of review that you should adduce new facts if you want to get the review admitted and the new grounds should be not grounds existing at the time when the first judgment was pronounced. The new ground should be a ground which has come into existence after the delivery of the first judgment. Now apply that test to this review or revision of the committee's report that is sought to be attempted to by the hon'ble members. What are the new facts that are adduced here?

Mr. V. K. Krishnankutty *(Ezhuvas-Trichur):* This is a new suit.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* Yes. On the ground that the first committee's report was wrong. Perfectly right. There are only two reasons, adduced. The first is the committee went wrong in coming to its conclusions. And you are requesting for the appointment of a new committee to rectify those mistakes. The second point is some new facts have come into existence after the committee sat, justifying a revision, and the creation of a new committee. I am on this last point now. I was hearing with profound respect the speeches of the hon'ble members but I did not find a single fact urged, which was not existing at the time of the last report, which calls for any change.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* We say the first committee's findings are wrong.

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Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* But there were some attempts to show that there are some new factors which came into existence which justify a revision of the recommendations of the committee.

Mr. V. K. Bhaskara Menon *(Cranganur):* We have become more civilised now.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* We have been assured of that several times. The argument was, that now that responsible government has come here, it is an element which makes a great difference so far as the franchise question is concerned. This argument seems to be irreconcilable with the argument of another gentleman who said that it was on the eve of responsible government that a pronouncement was made constituting this committee, with the express purpose of widening the franchise. To argue that because we actually got responsible government, the recommendation of such a committee is not in consonance with the existing state of affairs and therefore another committee should be constituted to review the recommendations of this committee and to pronounce a judgment is something which is clearly untenable. That committee was created with the express purpose of implementing the pronouncements on the question of responsible government made before. The committee made a recommendation in regard to that matter. It considerably enlarged the franchise. Now to argue that responsible government is come, that the committee's report is three years old and that we want to revise the recommendations of that committee, is I think to take up an untenable position. These are the only two grounds on which the hon'ble members argued for the appointment of a committee.

The other point was that that committee's decision was wrong and that therefore a fresh committee should be appointed for the purpose of enlarging the franchise and to make such other recommendations. I ask whether the appointment of a committee is the proper procedure in dealing with such a matter. Even if such a committee is constituted, after some time, an argument can again be raised that the recommendations of such a committee also are wrong and that therefore we should have another committee to scrutinise these recommendations and to suggest modifications and so on *ad infinitum*. If that be the case, Government will have to go on constituting committees after committees and I do not know where the end will be. Do you think that Government should adopt such a policy?

(Several voices: 'Yes, yes')

That is where the difference of view comes. A committee to find out the errors of another committee—this seems to be something

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very peculiar. This sort of appointing a number of committees will be a cumbersome process. After all, a committee is defined as a cumbersome machinery to find out something that we already know. *(laughter)*. And further, if we know certainly that the recommendation of that committee is wrong, where is the necessity of appointing another committee to report again that that recommendation is wrong?

Then there was the hon'ble member's (Mr. Mathai's) resolution on adult franchise.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Accept that.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* That is another matter.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* Can we not find any change in the minds of the public with regard to the question of widening the franchise?

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government)*: I am only testing the procedure. What I say is the procedure sought to be adopted is wrong. Supposing it so happens that the next committee also makes a recommendation identical with the one of the former Committee, then what will be the use of a new committee? We can go on constituting committees every six months to know whether the people have changed their minds or not. You say a periodical scrutiny as to whether the people have changed their opinion in regard to this matter is necessary. And for that purpose you recommend the appointment of a committee. This is something unacceptable to the Government.

Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* Had there not been periodical committees who had to go into several questions about the political advancement?

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I have heard of periodical committees having been constituted when conditions underwent a change.

Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* Have you not seen enactments under which, say that after 10 years or so, a committee will be appointed and again the matter will be considered in regard to the necessity for further advancement.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* The rationale of these enactments will be an anticipated change within those 10 years. Whenever we say we will scrutinise after ten years, the very statement assumes that there will be necessity for a change after ten years. I perfectly appreciate that.

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Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* There is such a provision in the Government of India Act of 1919. There it is stated that a statutory body is to be constituted at the interval of every 10 years.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* That is, after its working has been tested for those 10 years.

Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* That is right. After its working has been tested. Here also the question is whether the franchise system recommended by the last committee is right or wrong and whether there is any necessity for constituting another committee, if the last committee has gone grong, to review its recommendations. That is the point.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I was at great pains to make you understand that that kind of three-year committees to find out whether its predecessors have gone wrong do not commend to us. There is the difference of opinion. The conditions remain the same.

Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* No. They have undergone a change.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I was keenly watching the debate and according to me nobody here pointed out one new condition which has come except responsible government. I never heard any other argument.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* The political consciousness created by the responsible government. That is the change.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I am sorry I cannot understand the political consciousness in a body of electors created by the performance of the representatives here. *(Laughter).*

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Yes, quite so.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* Because one party has been exercising government as a result of the reforms, to say that the consciousness of the electors has undergone a fundamental change and that therefore we should refuse the first committee's recommendations do not carry conviction with us. How is it that the elected representatives effect a change in the political consciousness of the electors?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Because there is a greater duty cast upon them to send the right kind of representatives here.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* It can exercise only upon the people who were elected by them. We are

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upon the question as to whether we want adult franchise. We were told that the work carried on by the representatives elected by certain people in a certain mode of franchise is so profound that a further change is necessary. Is that the point?

Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* May I ask you a question? Does the hon'ble member concede or does he not concede that the introduction of the reforms has accelerated the growth of political consciousness among the people in the land?

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* Political consciousness of the electors? That is a matter for ascertainment. It is not a matter for assertion.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Then don't deny. But ascertain it. We say there is a change. You say there is no change. You are not certain as to whether there is a change or not. Therefore, don't assert. Let us ascertain and then assert.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* And then suppose another committee is appointed.

Mr. V. K. Krishnankutty *(Ezhuvas-Trichur):* Do you say that there is a change or not?

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* Shall I answer you one at a time or all together? I am familiar to this sort of tactics. We all belong to the same stock originally *viz.*, lawyers. Whenever we find a bad case we have been told by eminent authorities, the best way is to interrupt your opponent and interrupt so as to make it impossible for him to go on.

Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* You practice it more than we do.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I never interrupt anybody. In fact I am interrupted by many.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* You get stronger when interrupted. *(Laughter).*

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I am only pointing out that to my mind I don't expect to find agreement with any of your views, that because responsible government had been working here for a number of years there have been certain changes necessitating the appointment of a committee to find out whether we should have adult franchise. And even if the argument is correct that such a change is visible, there is no necessity according to me for the appointment of a committee to go into and find out a fact which is already known to us. The necessity to go into a committee for a decision on that matter presupposes that we are in

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doubt whether there is necessity for any change at present. If you say that there is a change in the political consciousness of the people, then why should you go for a committee? Why not straightaway introduce adult franchise?

Mr. V. K. Krishnankutty *(Ezhuvas-Trichur):* Suppose there is such a change. Will you accept adult franchise?

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* When that question is put to me at the proper time, I hope to give an answer. We are not in the habit of answering hypothetical questions.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* May I ask you one question. A charge was made that the last committee in delimiting the constituencies did not delimit it further. Do you accept that charge?

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I was upon a very large question of adult franchise.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* There are charges brought after the working of the last formation of the constituencies. Members have come forward to say that delimitation of the general constituencies was made in such a way that is not satisfactory. That charge was made specific by the hon'ble member, Mr. Panicker when he referred to the Anthikad constituency. He said several villages were added on to that constituency just for the purpose of defeating one particular community from getting a candidate returned from among them. I have also seen that there are many constituencies where only one or the other of the major communities can succeed if they are communally inclined. The formation and delimitation of the constituencies are such that a particular community which predominates in number in it can succeed. There was a serious charge regarding the delimitation of the constituencies. This is not a matter to be made fun of, but which has to be seriously considered.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government)* : And it was so serious that the hon'ble member had not even referred to it in his opening speech.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri)* : The learned Secretary's version was that there is no new change to bring in another committee over the last committee that sat. For that position I say that that committee's work was not satisfactory and that therefore we want that these things to be looked into anew.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government)* : But the Secretary has not finished his speech. The question of delimitation was such a minor question that I was going to deal with it last.

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There was some complaint with regard to two constituencies. Now do you say for the matter of correcting that error with respect to these constituencies a further committee should go into the question of franchise and take the trouble to go about the whole State and go on taking evidence at the various places ? I was attempting to show to the House that not a single fact to my mind has been adduced for the appointment of a fresh committee. Adult franchise, communal electorates with reservation, entire elimination of all communal electorates, complete adoption of nationalism, all these are facts which were urged and which could have been urged and as a matter of fact were urged before the other committee and were considered by them. Perhaps those recommendations were not acceptable. But to appoint a committee on this account to go into the findings of the previous committee, to my mind, is not necessary, especially when there is the probability that the recommendations arrived at by the new committee are also likely to be not acceptable to you. If there is anything fundamentally wrong, as for instance the adult franchise, this is a matter for consideration, apart from the committee.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* There is a fundamental fallacy in it which I can point out.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* You always can find one fallacy or other.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Now, our case is there is an increased political consciousness among the people so that a widening of the franchise is called for. It is quite possible for one school of thought to say that there should be adult franchise. It is quite possible for another school of thought to say that it should be litercry franchise. Now, one thing is clear. Franchise has to be widened, because of the increase in political consciousness. What exactly is that particular limit to which we can go is a matter for a committee to sit and arrive at a particular decision. When we bring a resolution for adult franchise, you will say it is too extreme a resolution which we cannot accept. So as to exclude these difficulties, a committee will sit and consider these several aspects as to which limit you can go since a widening is warranted by the increased political consciousness.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* This is a reiteration of the old position in the guise of an interpretation. There was a political consciousness created by the 3 years' working of this responsible constitution, and I thought I replied to it. I can only reiterate my reply that the question of political consciousness of voters based on the attainments of their representatives here and of their general ability to recognise the effect as well as the proper use of the vote was considered

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by the former committee. There was a large body of opinion who said that both from the point of literacy and education and general ability to know the vote and use the vote, our electors have advanced enough to have this system of adult franchise. To that is now super-added the wonderful experience which those people have, because of the actual working of the machinery of Government by some of the elected members. What else is there? Our electors were there. It was urged on their behalf that they have advanced enough to know the value of the vote and to use it with discrimination. I said I cannot understand the argument that 3 years' working by the representatives of the responsible government has contributed to the knowledge of the electors on whose behalf the plea was then made.

Deputy President : There is a chance of reply for the mover of this resolution. There is no use of carrying on this higgling. You have made your position clear in so many speeches.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* If I understood him correctly, he said that the working of the responsible government here for this period has made a change in the political consciousness of electors—I suppose not non-electors. We are not concerned with non-electors for the purpose of this argument.

Deputy President : I ask this House whether the Secretary or the members have progressed a little within the last 25 minutes. The Secretary stands where he was and you stand where you were. Therefore, give the time to the hon'ble mover to effectively reply, if he thinks so.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I would have finished 20 minutes before. I only wanted to say that there would be two aspects in which this can be looked at. I attempted to argue that both the positions are untenable. There are no new facts, except that of Mr. Devassy. The original recommendations themselves were wrong and therefore we should have a new committee, I attempted to say that it is an endless procedure. Every time a committee goes wrong, another committee will have to test the accuracy of the recommendations of that committee. It is not procedurally correct. The proper procedure will be to table resolutions on which they go wrong and then try to correct it, especially when it is stated that the moment you get adult franchise, everything else vanishes, communalism vanishes away from the land, delimitation absolutely is a subsidiary matter, whether Narakkal is included, or Cheruthuruthi is included does not matter so long as there is adult franchise. If that is so, should a committee go into the question as to whether we are fit for adult franchise? That is the question.

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What new facts can we get except the facts gathered by the committee in the first instance? Possibly other witnesses can be examined, or the same witnesses may be examined. Some might have changed their views, some might not have. I submit, therefore, that this invitation to the Government to go into a committee to find out whether there were changes, especially when no new circumstances have been brought about does not commend itself to the Government.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Sir, I have only to answer my friend Mr. Achyuta Menon, because he has opposed the resolution, and the reasons placed before the House, in my opinion, are without any substance. There is no substance at all in those arguments. They are "dust-throwing arguments". My learned friend referred to a revision petition and stated that some new grounds should be urged. I have only to read paragraphs 37, 38 and 41 of the committee's report. The committee with much reluctance agreed to grant special communal electorates in the case of three communities. That is clear from the following sentence in paragraph 37:—"The question as to what our recommendations should be with regard to the extent to which the principle should be accepted and to what communities special treatment should be accorded, has been the one which has given us most anxiety and trouble". Later on in para 38, they have said: "After very anxious and careful consideration, we have come to the conclusion that special communal representation may be provided for, in the case of three communities, the Ezhuvas, the Muslims and the Latin Christians". Then in para 41 they say: "They form another community, or to be more accurate, a sub-community who have demanded special seats for themselves. We must frankly state that we have always felt the greatest difficulty in reconciling ourselves to this demand, and if eventually we have decided to accede to their wishes to a certain extent, it has not been without some reluctance". "It has not been without some reluctance" means with much reluctance. What happened after making these recommendations? Even before the ink with which it was written became dry the Muslims were given reservation of seats. Where does the recommendation of the committee go?

Then another argument that my learned friend advanced is regarding the practical difficulty. That argument is very misleading and confusing. The Secretary said that if this is accepted, we will have to prepare an electoral roll after one year. What is the difficulty? If the resolution is accepted and a committee is appointed, the committee makes some recommendations and according to the recommendations of the committee, a new electoral roll has to be

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prepared. Until such time, the old electoral rolls will be in force and the Government have power to make it so under the electoral rules.

Then the Secretary referred to the scope of the resolution. I shall read the resolution again.— "This Council recommends to Government that a committee be appointed with a majority of elected members of the Legislative Council to make suitable recommendations to the Government for revising the existing system of franchise—in particular the system of special communal electorate." Now, what I am most anxious is that this revision should be given effect especially in regard to the system of special communal electorate. The Government may make the terms of reference of the committee very vide, if they so think. You may make provision for the representation of labour, representation for Arayas who deserve a special seat. Even adult franchise may be considered. All these can be considered when the terms of reference are drafted. If the resolution is passed by the House, the Government may consider and may give a reasonable interpretation to the resolution. One of the points of reference must be the question of the abolition of special communal electorates. Therefore there is no difficulty at all.

It has been stated yesterday that since the election of members to the Council on the present system of franchise, the communal tension has increased. I am quite right in my statement and I did not want, yesterday, to refer to certain incidents of communal tension. But I think I should quote some instances. First, the question of payment of salaries to aided school teachers. It was moved in the fourth Council by the Director in the form of a resolution. That was opposed by Mr. Panicker and that resolution was rejected. What do we see in the fifth Council? The same resolution was moved by Mr. Panicker and it was passed. That is one instance. I shall multiply instances, because I am forced to do it in the public interests. Now, the Hon'ble Minister this morning referred to something that happened in the last three weeks. Till now, the Depressed Class members were given concessions even if they changed their religion. Now, the Hon'ble Minister, the popular Minister...

.....

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* On a point of order, you make allegations under the guise of a resolution. Allegations after allegations are being made by a member. Remaining here, if I do not reply, people will misinterpret that I am unable to answer them. I would request you, Sir, out of fairness to grant me also time to answer these allegations.

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Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* This point is quite relevant. I am anxious that communal tension should never be allowed in this Council. I am forced to say these things. Now, the Hon'ble Minister.....

Deputy President: You need not refer to the morning incident. This is not the proper time.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* That concerns communal tension. The Minister becoming less sympathetic towards Christians and that point I want to impress upon the House now.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Allegations of this kind are made without knowing anything and without any basis, and I am in a position to show that the truth is far, far from this statement. As I said, unless you restrict him from traversing through all these grounds, I may be given an opportunity to answer him.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* I have the greatest respect for the Hon'ble Minister.

Deputy President: I cannot allow this sort of things.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* I am on the point of communal tension and I have given one instance—Stopping of concessions to the Depressed Classes.

Deputy President: Order, order I cannot allow.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* It is quite relevant.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* The Chair has ruled. Why don't you not obey?

Deputy President: Confine your remarks to the resolution.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* My object is to show that communal tension has increased. Therefore, I want to get this present system revised at any cost. Communal tension is one.

Deputy President: Even inconvenient relevancies cannot be tolerated.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* I want to submit something more on that point. I must submit that the allegations made by the Minister are malicious, unfair and unjust.

Deputy President: Order, order. I cannot allow that.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* When a man makes allegations like that, I must answer. That is the way to keep him down. There is no other method.

The resolution was put and carried

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